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often express affection most easily toward their dogs and other favorite animals.

The limited expression of affection in Tepoztlán is part of a larger pattern whereby what might be called the positive emotions—love, tenderness, kindness, sympathy, generosity, and joy—are less easily expressed and not as well developed as the negative ones, such as anger, hate, irritability, fear, jealousy, and envy. One of our informants with more insight than most Tepoztecans succinctly described the lack of warmth and positive emotion by saying, "Somos muy secos," that is, "We are dry." This is related to their general world view and their conception of human beings, both of which tend to stimulate negative emotional responses.

There is a readiness to view people as potentially dangerous, and the most characteristic initial reaction to others is suspicion and distrust. Lack of trust is not only present among non-relatives but also exists within families and affects the relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, and brothers and sisters. This is not a neurotic distrust, but one rooted in the hard realities of Tepoztecan social and economic life, in patterns of child-training, and in a long history of conquest, colonial status, and internal and external political and economic exploitation. In Tepoztlán, the motives of everyone are suspected, from the highest public officials of the nation, to the local priest, and even to close relatives. It is assumed that anyone in a position of power will use it to his own advantage at the expense of others. Honest government or leadership is considered an impossibility; altruism is not understood. The frank, direct person, if he exists anywhere in Tepoztlán, is considered naive or the greatest rogue of all, so powerful or shameless as to have no need to conceal his deeds or thoughts. An individual who is obliging without cost to those who seek his aid is understood to have some as yet unrevealed plan for capitalizing on his position.

Friendships, as defined in terms of mutual trust, loyalty, aid, and affection directed toward one individual are few in Tepoztlán, and are avoided rather than sought. Friendship as such is not a Tepoztecan ideal and is not institutionalized in the form of a best friend or in any other way. Cases of lifelong friendships are rare and are almost always limited to the more acculturated families. Friends are viewed by adults as potential enemies, as a source of trouble, and as a waste of time. Traditionally women and girls are not supposed to have any friends whatsoever. While one may have friendly relations with individuals in Tepoztlán, these relations are segmented in that each is limited to one or two purposes. With one individual, there may be a work exchange relationship; with another, a borrowing relationship; and with others, a drinking relationship.

An exception to this is a type of friendship among men and youths known as the *cuate*, which means "twins."[8] These are more in the nature of close alliances made between two or more individuals of the same age group for a more generalized companionship. The *cuate* is depended upon for loyalty and defense in time of trouble, for political support, and for companionship in drinking, in

[8] The *cuate* is not traditional in Tepoztlán, having been introduced by soldiers from outside during the Revolution.

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578 626 A man who believes himself to be the butt of an *indirecta* will also usually leave the group, but sometimes the statements are so obvious and crude that he interprets them as a challenge to fight. However, rarely does a fight occur as a result of such a situation; rather, the insulted person waits for an opportunity to harm the other secretly, and he, in turn, spends many an uneasy hour not knowing what to expect.

Gossip is unrelenting and harsh in Tepoztlán, especially when directed against an individual or family with whom there is a grievance. Facts about people are unconsciously or maliciously distorted, and gossip sometimes leads to tragedy. Relatives and neighbors are quick to believe the worst, and motives are always under question. A woman who puts on her best dress and takes a bus to Cuernavaca is said to be going to meet a lover. A girl who leaves town to work or study is going "to throw away a baby." A man who has gained weight and wears better clothing than before, for no known reason, must have been stealing. A wife who dominates her husband must have bewitched him.

There is a readiness to inform on others and to carry complaints to the head of the family. Neighbors and relatives are quick to let parents know that their daughter has been seen talking or walking with a boy, or that their child has been throwing stones. Claims for even slight damages are readily made. For example, a widow selling squash in the market place made a row and demanded payment when someone's two-year-old son knocked over a squash and caused the stem to fall off.

[156] Successful persons are popular targets of criticism, envy, and malicious gossip. A new calf or cow may come home with a deep slash from someone's machete. Some unknown enemy may stone another's dog or drive away his chickens or pigs. [609] Tourists, government representatives, or other outsiders, whether from another country, state, or village, are favorite targets for private ridicule which is often carping and picayune. Their way of dress, their speech, their manners are all fair game, and any mishap they suffer or error they make gives special delight. Most [522] of the humor in jokes, stories, and conversation is in the form of ridicule of some [535] person or group. At the Carnaval it is the custom for some of the masked dancers to caricature and criticize public figures, much to the glee of the villagers.

[793] Even the priest is not above criticism. At one period in the history of the village there was so much criticism of successive priests sent in from the outside that the archbishop decided to punish the village by threatening to withhold a priest for seven years. However, a Tepoztecan who had studied for the priesthood agreed to take the job and retained it successfully for many years. Nicknames are common [551] and also tend to expose personal weaknesses, sometimes to an embarrassing degree. In addition to personal nicknames, there are also nicknames for each of the barrios and villages within the municipio.

578 754 [156] [152] The most feared, but perhaps least common, form of indirect aggression is sorcery. Fear of sorcery is not omnipresent. It occurs only when a person has reason to expect it as the result of having injured or insulted another or of having become wealthy or otherwise outstanding. Young men and women are also apt to

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876 "bad" boys. Other punishments are keeping a child in during the recreation hour; reporting bad behavior to the parents; giving out tasks, such as sweeping the classroom or yard, working in the garden, or writing an assigned sentence one hundred times. One girl was locked up in the henhouse for hitting other children. Parents generally approve of physical punishment in the school, and some think the school is now too lenient. In the past, it was common practice for parents who could not control their children at home to ask the teacher to discipline them. Children who are punished in school rarely tell their parents about it for fear that they will be punished a second time at home. Causes for punishment in school are inattentiveness, not knowing the lesson, fighting, and disobedience.

593 861 Other methods are also used to instill fear in the child. It is common for parents, particularly mothers, to threaten to desert their children, playing on the children's fear of becoming orphans. One mother said that she can get obedience from her children by telling them that she will stop eating and die so that they will have to live with a cruel stepmother. Children are told that if they are naughty they will be carried off by a stranger who will make soap out of them. Any passer-by, and recently the *gringo*, is used to frighten children in this way. In Tepoztlán, where children have occasion to see many tourists and outsiders coming and going, the fear of strangers has worn off, but in the nearby smaller villages children run to hide when an unfamiliar person appears in the streets.

[609] [184]

593 861 538 [825] Many mothers and grandmothers tell children stories of owls and coyotes coming out at night to eat bad children and of bats and opossums that drink blood. Children who lie or disobey are told that they will turn into devils and burn in hell. They are told that badness is always punished in some unexpected way, such as being bitten by a mad dog, and that goodness is rewarded with good luck.

[152] [776] The sound of a child crying appears to be a particular source of irritation in adults, especially in men, and children are frequently frightened into silence by threats of punishment. The story of Cahuasohuanton, a spirit who listens outside the walls of the house and imitates the child crying, is told to frighten crying children into silence. The story, translated from the Náhuatl, goes as follows:

[773] Once it happened that a child was crying a great deal, and his parents told him to lie down and go to sleep. He did not want to and sat near the hearth crying. His parents kept telling him to stop and then they fell asleep. After a while they awoke and heard a voice saying, "Cahuasohuanton yo ni concua," or "Cahuasohuanton has eaten him." The parents stood up and lighted a candle and there, near the hearth they saw the child dead, with his abdomen torn open and his intestines out and they knew that Cahuasohuanton had been there.

[776] Cahuasohuanton is a very fear-inspiring figure and children invariably cease crying when told that he is coming.

593 861 522 Frightening children is sometimes done for the amusement of adults. One informant remembered being very frightened as a child when his favorite uncle, after having told some ghost stories, suddenly told the child to run because a ghost was

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16 *infancy and early childhood:*

THERE IS MUCH variety in the treatment and care of infants and children in Tepoztlán because of individual differences and because of the presence of groups representing different cultural and economic levels. The most obvious contrasting practices in child care are those of the more acculturated families and those with only minimal contacts with the outside. The distinction between these two groups is not always clear-cut. Sometimes the mother represents one group and the father the other, reflecting the state of transition which pervades the village and complicates the discussion of customs in no small measure. Frequently there is no difference in customs as such, but rather in the practice of them.

177 184 85

INFANCY

At the birth of a child there is no celebration, and generally little fuss is made. When the first-born is a son, there are usually expressions of pleasure on the part of the father and relatives. But many mothers describe the arrival of their children as causing "neither joy nor argument," and frequently complain of their husband's indifference at the birth of a child. Men do, in fact, maintain an attitude of reserve but often respond to a new arrival by working harder. More modern men do not conceal pleasure at the birth of a child, and behave much the way new fathers do in our society. Gifts are not traditionally given to the child, although some of the more acculturated do this and invite friends in to drink and to eat *mole*.

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It is believed that the first weeks of life are dangerous, for the infant is particularly susceptible to the "evil eye," "bad humors," and *los aires*. Non-relatives are not encouraged to see a newborn child, though the more modern families permit it after a few days. Babies sleep behind a curtain and are protected from "bad humors" with *ruda* and chile which are placed in the form of a cross beneath the pillow or mattress of the cradle, and by a few drops of iodine on their clothing. Some families hang a gallstone, taken from the gall bladder of a bull, around the child's wrist to protect him from the "evil eye." This is no longer done in some of the better educated families. After one month, a centavo may be hung on a string around the child's neck to protect him from whooping cough. Some tie on a little

751 854 [609] [825]

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177 in attitudes and values and in the quality of interpersonal relations. It is too
156 early to tell how deeply these changes have affected the ethos and character
571 of the villagers, but all signs point in the direction of more profound changes to follow. In 1956, Tepoztecans seemed on the whole more outgoing and
● [609] friendly and less bothered by the presence of outsiders. Children were noisier and smiled more; they were as apt to run toward as away from a stranger.
[882] Indeed, they begged tourists for centavos. Small groups of unchaperoned adolescent girls laughing and talking together were not unusual sights, and occasionally a village girl might be seen walking side by side with a boy in broad daylight. In general, the villagers were more accepting of their sophis-
[476] ticated members and provincialism seemed to be on the wane. There was more competition for jobs and scholarships and in general display.

That Tepoztecans have more drive and ambition for self-improvement
[167] is obvious. The young people are restless and have found the courage to leave the village to look for better opportunities. They are making greater demands on their parents for education, and they have more confidence in and more ability to cooperate with people outside the family over longer periods of time.
177 Friendship not based on formal reciprocal relationships has become increas-
[572] ingly important; *compadrazgo* has assumed a new significance in providing
[608] connections and social advantages. Material success and a higher standard of
[556] living are consciously admired and worked for and the motivation to hide
[555] wealth is weaker. Respect has come to be based more and more on wealth and social status. Education imparts higher status; a young man or woman who
[875] has a teacher's certificate expects to be treated more respectfully by his or her
[771] elders. The middle class, especially, feel that status is also gained by discarding folk beliefs and practices and becoming more Catholic.

It is apparent, then, that Tepoztlán has made great strides ahead in
177 the past fifteen years. The changes have been uneven, however, and not all the
433 sectors of the population have equally benefited. Faced with limited agricultural resources, low yields, an absence of irrigation, and little prospect of solving their agricultural problems through mechanization, the villagers have by-passed their agrarian problem and have instead become dependent on new occupations and on jobs outside the village.

Most of the changes in the village are enjoyed by the middle economic
177 group which even in 1943 had shown the most initiative and interest in raising
556 its level of living. This group has doubled in size and now constitutes about
565 25 percent of the total population. Moreover, it is no longer merely an economic group; it is emerging rather as a true middle class, consisting of professionals, white-collar employees, and self-employed artisans and shopkeepers whose values and goals have come to differ substantially from those of the peasantry. The sharpening cleavage between the middle and lower economic groups, between peasant and nonpeasant, is perhaps the most far-reaching and significant change in the village.

Although the lower economic group is proportionately smaller than it
[434] was in 1943, it still constitutes the great majority of the villagers—approximately 65 percent. Our data suggest that this group has become even poorer, both because of inflation and because its members have been deprived of a tradi-